9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

602 daughter; in the same way, a girl who has been reared to a large extent by her
601 grandmother, especially if she is an orphan, or illegitimate, will be called "daughter," and will reciprocate by calling her grandmother "mother." It is interesting to note that these relationships, however artificial they may be, are always consistent. A person will never use a special relationship term toward another unless this other reciprocates by using an appropriate term toward the first.

The closer terms of kinship which we have just seen substituted for more distant correct terms are also extended in their application to non-related or little-known people toward whom one wishes to show friendliness or respect. Thus a man will usually call a stranger "father," or "mother's father," depending on his age—this latter term is considered to denote the closest relationship, as far as warmth and dependence go, of the two grandfathers.

More formalized are such usages as the reciprocal joking which goes on between grandparents and grandchildren, which operates largely by means of their using various sets of kinship terms and then making jokes about their consequences; this will be considered in more detail in the next section. Also, if
[572] two persons standing in a certain relationship to each other each have close friends of the same sex as themselves, these two friends may playfully adopt
[195] parallel relationship terms toward each other. The terms in this case have a phonetic pattern slightly different from the normal usage.

Perhaps of the same nature is the custom whereby two young men may call each other *nīmīlī'-i?*, "our girl friends," to signalize some affair which they had with two girls who were friends; this usage is said sometimes to continue throughout life, though no instances were recorded.

In these examples it is evident that the universal applicability of kinship terminology and the choices of relationships which are presented, together with extensions of its usage outside of genealogically traceable relatives, make this system a remarkably flexible tool in the hands of its users. With the selection of terms there is, apparently, a selection of behavior patterns also, always followed consistently by both parties involved.

The Comanche seem to follow the usual custom in regard to more distant relationships, wherein the behavior patterns found in the immediate family become gradually less distinct and demanding, and more permissive in nature, providing opportunities for fulfilling them to any degree which the person wishes. Yet some aspects of behavior appear to persist very strongly; this is well exemplified by the alternation of sister and joking relationships already mentioned.

It remains now to see what these behavior patterns are which are associated with the relationship terms, and to what extent there is a distinct pattern for each term.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

593 extent of opposite sex, is considered to be one of the closest. It is often said that his brothers are more dear to a man than his wife, and this is given as the reason why a man shares his wife with his younger brothers in a polyandrous [837] household. Men often leave their wives with their brothers when they go off on war-parties, and most people take it for granted that the brother will sleep with her during this time. Damage claims for wife stealing are practically never made upon brothers. It is a brother relationship to which the closest friends aspire, and they will often call each others' families by terms appropriate to this relation. Sisters, on the other hand, form the most desirable [595] combination of wives if a man is to have several, for they get along better together than any other women, and are less likely to be jealous.

[554] The oldest brother has much greater prestige than any of the others, unless he should be a complete coward and failure and have a spectacularly successful younger brother. His position is unique, for, unless he should die very young, his removal through death or moving away will not lead to the elevation of the next oldest brother to a position of special prestige. In this society of warriors, boys from puberty onward are always considered greatly superior to their sisters.

Relations between brothers and sisters are highly variable, and depend greatly upon the personalities of the individuals. The ideal picture is one of fondness and mutual help and kindness. Brothers bring their sisters horses when they return from raids, and will take their side and protect them in case of trouble; they frequently leave their wives with their sisters who will act as chaperones while they are away. A sister will care for her brother's horse when he comes in and perform many minor services for him; she may act as a messenger for an unmarried brother in arranging nocturnal trysts. But these and many other expressions of esteem and affection are only evident if they like each other.

[857] The other side of the picture reveals the fact that the oldest sibling present [576] is the boss of the others until they come of age. As the boys used to go out on war-parties as soon as they were old enough, this was usually an older sister. [195] She frequently whipped her brothers as a disciplinary measure, and often delighted in teasing them in various more or less nasty ways. The word *ii'rīʔaiwapi*, "slave," could be applied by an older sibling to a younger, though this was considered being particularly unpleasant, and nice children did not do it! It is significant that while it was presumably permissible, this appellation [605] was rarely if ever used between siblings of the same sex. It is emphatically stated, incidentally, that this was never applied to cousins except as a joke.

593 Once a boy passed puberty, he usually went out on the warpath, and was therefore in imminent danger of being killed. For this reason, it is said, one 882 should let him have his way in all things. The boys do not seem to have been beyond capitalizing on this, and could and occasionally would whip their sisters even after they were married. It was the brother, more than anyone else, who

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

men could not afford to gather in too large numbers. On other other hand, wealthier men often had a number of tipis, and their feminine entourage might thus have been of considerable size.

It is obvious that many opportunities were present for the growth of hostility between the wives, and fights appear to have been not uncommon.[12] The husband usually did not interfere, but left it to some of the wives' relatives or some other influential person. None but the favorite wife would come to the husband with grievances against another, as he was not likely to be very sympathetic.

Siblings-in-law. Of all the members of her husband's family a woman is likely to be most intimate with his sister. As we have seen before, he frequently left his wife with his sister when he went off on raiding parties; whether this was more common than leaving her with his brother is not clear, but one certainly gets such an impression. In this situation, the sister had pretty complete authority over the wife, at least as far as her relations with other men were concerned, but the usual pattern was of friendliness and mutual help, coupled with a certain amount of mild joking if they felt like it.

Brothers-in-law frequently felt a strong bond, and were likely to seek each other's company and aid in preference to any but their own brothers. This is doubtless closely connected with the recognized custom of men giving their sisters to their friends as wives. Brothers-in-law are expected to joke a great deal together, the jokes being insulting, personal, and often coarse. The words for spider, *tatê'cɪ*, and for tarantula, *pi'hîre'cɪ*, are recognized to mean "someone's brother-in-law" and "hairy brother-in-law" respectively, while common pharses substituted for this relationship term are given as "our testicles" and "our smell of dog urine." Examples of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

The dominant pattern of behavior between siblings-in-law of opposite sex is the reciprocal joking relationship so commonly found among Plains tribes. It apparently does not exist among the Shoshoni in just this form, and the existence of the two terms for denoting this relationship among the Comanche suggests the intrusion of the custom along with the term, though I have been unable to locate a similar word in another tribe. Repeated questions failed to elicit any preference for the *hâipia* (sibling-in-law of opposite sex) or the spouse term in any given situation, joking or otherwise; they seem to be interchangeable. The genealogies reveal that different individuals with whom the informants joked and generally carried on similar relationships were sometimes called by one, sometimes by the other, and often by both terms. However, although the spouse terms are often used in joking too, there is no doubt that the joking *relationship* was on the basis of their being each other's *hâipia*. Thus there was some feeling that it was not quite right for husband and wife,

[12] Catlin (1845, Vol. 2, pp. 64–5) found such fights to be among the most striking features of Comanche community life.

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

607 who do not use this term, to joke in quite the same way, while TY, whose first husband's older brother was "mean," never joked with him and therefore never called him anything but "husband."

Women are usually the initiators of the joking, whether it is physical or verbal. It is not obligatory, however, and if the man consistently becomes annoyed, it is the woman who is considered in the wrong; the characteristic behavior is thus associated only permissively with the relationship. A man may also warn her that she has gone far enough, and she will cease; she is in a rather vulnerable position, as the man may know of some infidelity of hers, and if he should start making a public joke of this, she might get into serious trouble with her husband or brother. A woman is usually counseled by a sister or woman friend against carrying a joke too far, if it is thought that trouble is brewing. It is said that *hâipia's* could take a lot of "ribbing" in the old days, [177] but that now they become annoyed very easily; there is no doubt that the [522] influence of the white man has greatly curtailed the pursuit and enjoyment of "off-color" humor which so characterized some phases of Comanche life. This is especially true of the joking which involved physical contact—pinching, making mock love, and so on—in public.

607 Verbal joking between *hâipia's* most commonly deals with another person 522 with whom the victim is suspected of intriguing; these jokes are not made flagrantly public, but a woman may, for example, use some physical peculiarity of her *hâipia's* suspected mistress as the basis of a special name which she calls him in public, meanwhile taunting him continually in private. He becomes embarrassed and his wife suspicious—she may try to find out to whom this name refers. Practical jokes, or jokes about the victim's physical appearance, do not seem to be usual.

While jokes of this sort may be made between any unrelated man and woman (though the term *hâipia* is never used in this context), the actual relationship provides for the most important outlet for sexual joking between the sexes; the spouse may not like it, but when it is institutionalized, he or she can make little objection. That there is a connection between this joking and the fact that the *hâipia* is one's potential spouse through the levirate or sororate is undeniable; one informant even stated that these relatives went so far as to have actual sexual relations in the old days, and it seems reasonable that this should have been the case.

More distantly or doubtfully related siblings-in-law may act in accordance with the expected patterns or not, according to the individuals' preferences; a couple of examples of the *hâipia* relationship were mentioned before. This joking pattern of behavior may often be followed with striking gusto to the most distant of relatives.

607 The use of the term *nïmï'ára'*, "our (children's) uncle," as a substitute 195 for *lé'ci*, "man's brother-in-law," or *páhapia'pï'*, "woman's sister-in-law," is not

9: Gladwin E-5 (1940) 1948 NO6 Comanche NO6

very clear. It is apparently a "slang" word which has come into more and more common usage in late years. Most of the old people object to its wide use, and there are few young people who do not recognize that the other forms are more proper, even if they seldom use them. In the old days it was often customary for a young man (especially if a captive) who wished to marry a girl and who approached her brother with gifts, to call him *nĭmĭ²ara²*, and thus formally admit his desire for the man's sister. As a brave warrior presumably would not have to resort to this somewhat demeaning method of getting a wife, the use of the term is looked upon as being particularly unfortunate by some of the older people. Related to this marriage custom is the use of the term by two friends who cooperated in obtaining women for each other for non-marital purposes. These "sweetheart" liaisons were apt to last for some time, and the women involved often called each other *nĭmĭ²ára²* also, as well as the more correct sister terms. This seems to be the only possible basis for women's present use of the word, but it is rather tenuous, and certainly "incorrect," even here. While in the marriage situation above the use of the term might be continued for some time between the men concerned, if one of them attained any marked prestige, it was always dropped in favor of the proper usage. The use of the term was somewhat correlated with band membership.

Parents-in-law. There is no mother-in-law tabu among the Comanche, though the general patterns of respect due the parents' generation, and a certain amount of avoidance of overly sexual topics of conversation are proper in dealing with the parents-in-law.

There is such very wide variation in relations with parents-in-law, depending on personality, residence and by whom the marriage was arranged that it is difficult to formulate any all-inclusive statements on the subject. Thus we have cases in which the boy's mother bluntly tells his new wife that they don't like her and don't want her, while others say that a girl's relations with her mother-in-law are among the closest of any, as was the case in TY's first marriage.

In the fairly frequent case of the girl's marriage being arranged by her family, the son-in-law moves in to live with or near them, and relations are generally pretty close, at least superficially. Not only have personality factors already been considered, but it is in the interest of the parents to keep their daughter's husband satisfied, and hence working for them, while he is aware that they can break up the marriage if his behavior is unsatisfactory. Also, he usually hopes to get a second daughter as a wife if he pleases his in-laws. Thus, if there is an argument, they will usually intercede on the boy's side if this is reasonable in the situation. While living together, the boy tends his father-in-law's stock and receives some in return; in the old days, he used also to herd the horses and bring his mother-in-law meat and hides, while she made him especially nice clothes. After two or three years, the husband often had accumulated enough property, either as gifts from his in-laws or through his own

11: Casagrande E.L-S (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

197 another place Steward[14] has suggested that, in addition to any inherent stability, the various Shoshone dialects did not diverge more rapidly because a seminomadic life kept groups in constant contact with one another. By contrast he points to the great linguistic diversity of the sedentary peoples of the Pacific Coast.

194 3.1. All stops, the affricate, and two spirants (s, h) are voiceless; other consonants are voiced. Points of articulation and consonants appearing at each are as follows: bilabial (p, v, m, w); alveolar (t, c, s, n, r); palatal (k, y); labialized palatal (k^w), glottal (ʔ, h).

[195] A rare consonantal phoneme, x or ẖ, occurs only in baby language[15] and in certain ejaculations. With the exception of r, a single post-alveolar flap, and a bilabial fricative, v, consonants approximate their English counterparts. Stops and affricates tend to be more strongly aspirated in medial position.

All consonants, with the exception of ʔ and s, and possibly v and y, occur in the cluster h plus consonant. An alternative phonemic analysis is to interpret this sequence as a distinct phoneme.[16] This analysis would add 9 to 11 preaspirated consonants to the list of phonemes; however their distribution would be rather limited. While there would be fewer consonant clusters following this interpretation, the phonemic description would be less economical. Whether aspiration has replaced other phonemes (ʔ or vowel) in Comanche or is the result of a phonetic drift can only be demonstrated by comparative and historical methods.

[197]

[113] [14] Julian H. Steward, Native Cultures of the Intermontane (Great Basin) Area, Smithsonian Misc. Col., 100.445-502, p. 476 (1940).

[113] [15] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, IJAL 14.11-4 (1948).

[113] [16] Venda Riggs, Alternate Phonemic Analyses of Comanche, IJAL 15.229-31 (1949) discusses the alternative solutions. Benjamin L. Whorf, p. 160, in Harry Hoijer and others, Linguistic Structures of Native America, VFPA No. 6, (New York, 1946), uses this analysis for Hopi.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

194 The absence of a pattern of contrasting voiced and unvoiced phonemes (b-p, d-t) allows for a degree of latitude in pronunciation: d˟ and g˟ commonly occur as idiolectal variants of y and k˟ respectively. Voiced consonants tend to assimilate to their phonetic environment. They become voiceless or only weakly voiced before voiceless vowels, weakly voiced following h (or aspiration), and fully voiced elsewhere.

194 In this paper Comanche is written as it is
195 spoken in deliberate speech. In ordinary
[128] conversation there is slurring, more elision, omission of final voiceless vowels, etc.[11]

194 All consonants except v and r occur in utterance initial position. The consonants v and r are defective in that they never occur in utterance initial position or after a pause in speaking. Further, they may alternate morphophonemically with p and t respectively at morpheme and word boundaries, although the conditions of alternation are not always phonologically determined; e.g., pa·kA *arrow*—nava·kA *bullet* (its arrow); tīvo·pĭ *paper*—nīrīvo·pĭ *my paper*. t, but not p, always occurs after i.

All consonants occur in utterance medial position.

Only ʔ and h occur in utterance final, although in normal speech utterance final whispered vowels (see below) are often lazily pronounced and indicated only by the slightest movement of the speaker's lips, or they may be entirely omitted. In such instances the terminal phoneme is then heard as a consonant. Final ĭ in such a word as tihkapĭ *food*, is often heard as simple aspiration. Also, other consonants may occur
[192] finally in loanwords: waikin *wagon* (English); however there is a tendency for loanwords to conform to the Comanche pattern and acquire a final whispered vowel, e.g., papa·sI *potatoes* (Spanish, papas).

Consonant clusters are intersyllabic and

[113] [11] Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B, 120, p. 273 (1938); and D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone I: Linguistic Sketch and Text, IJAL 15.175-88, p. 175 (1949), note similar speed effects in Shoshone.

[p. 146-B]

193 Bound particle stems also function in
196 compounding:

-wahtĭ *without* (-wah + -tĭ, nominalizer), noyowahtĭ *without testicles*—a personal name; navukuwá·ʔ *automobile* (na-, reflexive + pu·kU *horse* + -wahtĭ *without*. The ending presumably represents reduction to a syllabic pattern common for many plant and animal names—see 3.2.).

-katĭ *possessor of* (-ka + -tĭ, nominalizer), puhakatĭ *medicine-man* (puha *supernatural power* + -katĭ). Both of the above are commonly used in personal and animal names.

193 **3.9.** Reduplication, a very important
196 technique in many Uto-Aztecan languages such as Pima, seems in Comanche to be restricted to the inflection for the dual and plural forms of qualitative stems and a limited group of kinship and status terms. There are several patterns of reduplication: $C_1V_1C_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1C_2$ or $C_1V_1hC_1V_1C_2$: ʔekavĭ- *red*, becomes ʔeʔekavĭtĭ·caʔ *the red one*; and tĭta·tĭ *little one*, becomes tĭhtĭta·tĭnĭ· *little ones*. $C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$ becomes $C_1V_1C_1V_1V_2C_2V_2$; ca·tietĭ *favorite child*, becomes ca·tĭrietĭnĭ· *favorite children*, and piava· *lake*, becomes piviava·nĭ· *lakes*. And $C_1V_1hC_2$ apparently becomes $C_1V_1hC_1V_1hC_2$; tahkaʔ *sibling*, becomes tahtahkani· *siblings*.

It also seems possible that reduplication may be used with certain verb stems to convey an iterative meaning: ʔekayĭyĭkaʔ *jelly, jam, jello* (ʔeka- *red* + yĭka *to shake* (?) + -ʔ, nominalizer).

193 A somewhat anomalous form occurs in
196 some ejaculations ʔĭrĭrĭrĭrĭ· *I'm*, or *it's so*
196 *hot*. Reduplication also figures importantly
195 in the rather extensive vocabulary of baby words:[a] papá·ʔ *water*; pepé·ʔ *ball*; and tatá·ʔ *food*.

193 **3.10.** A number of stem classes may be distinguished according to their distribution in relation to affixes and other stems, and, to a limited degree, by their meaning.

[a] Joseph B. Casagrande, Comanche Baby Language, I JAL 14.11-4 (1948).

[p. 150 B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

192 words.[82] With an efficient means of word-
197 building at hand, Comanche had little need
[121] to resort to linguistic borrowing. Also, the absence of writing and a literary or scholarly tradition in Comanche seems to have acted as a further deterrent to borrowing.[83]

121 Nor, although they are difficult to assess,
197 can such factors as speech fashions and the efforts of native language purists be ignored.
197 There is evidence that the Comanche pos-
195 sessed considerable pride of tongue. Richardson refers to Comanche as the court language of the South Plains,[84] and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine the Comanche condescending to use the language of a lesser
198 people. Moreover, the sign language was available as a lingua franca and was widely used among the Plains tribes.

121 Even if a language does undergo wholesale changes these are mostly in vocabulary and not in phonetic form or grammar where a more pedestrian drift seems to characterize linguistic changes. When contacts reach a certain intensity and duration, and as the social and psychological pressure of the dominant language increases, there is a tendency to adopt the language of the dominant culture rather than to patch up the old language to serve.[85]

4.5. Loanwords have received a fair share of attention from linguists,[86] and they

[82] Edward Sapir, Language, pp. 206-10 (New York, 1921).

[113] [83] By contrast, cp. Hausa, in Joseph H. Greenberg, Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa, Word 3: 85-97 (1947).

[84] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 23 (Glendale, California; 1933).

[85] Edward Sapir, Language, p. 220 (New York, 1921).

[113] [86] For example, Myles Dillon, Linguistic Borrowing and Historical Evidence, Lg 21: 12-17 (1945); Robert A. Hall, Jr., English Loan-Words in Micronesian Languages, Lg 21: 214-219 (1945); Einar Haugen, Phonological Shifting in American Norwegian, Lg 14: 112-120 (1938); M. J. Herskovits, On the Provenience of the Portuguese in Saramacca Tongo, de West-Indische Gids, 13: 545-550 (1930); K. H. Menges, Altaic Loanwords in

191 difficult to discover whether deviations from customary English usage were due to the influence of Comanche or simply to a faulty knowledge of English.

Similarly, the Comanche of younger people for whom English is a first language has undergone a great deal of simplification. It rather than English is the foreign tongue. The final glottal stop, whispered vowel or aspiration is often pruned off, and affixes, which carry the burden of nice semantic distinctions, are used carelessly or, in some cases, entirely omitted. Modern words which are often descriptive are frequently substituted for old ones and many more English words creep into the Comanche of the younger persons. English expressions are often uncomfortably clothed in Comanche phrases. All this is deplored by the elders who frequently complained about the impoverishment and contamination of their native tongue. One younger interpreter who was less adept in Comanche than English was constantly corrected by an older man who was something of a stickler for good Comanche usage.

The bilingual speaker in his role of interpreter is an important language creator. 191 794 Sermons in the Indian churches are for the most part preached in English by a White minister and translated extemporaneously by the native deacon or lay brother a few 191 sentences at a time. The performance of this function by J was especially skillful. Beyond what official questioning of older Indians occurs, there is little other formal interpreting, yet on countless informal occasions these bilinguals act as linguistic go-betweens, mediators of the old culture and [124] the new. Finally, it may be remarked that our interpreters displayed a great deal of interest in comparing their translations and discussing finer points of meaning.

English has had another rather different [177] influence on Comanche. Many of the younger [195] Comanche feel that the speech of the older people is vulgar, an attitude that reflects the adoption by the Comanche of a White

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

191 sense of propriety and prudishness, and there has been a direct extension of English
195 word taboos to the native speech which is
[177] unashamed and forthright. However, one interpreter who was an exception. He had little hesitation in supplying or using a sexual vocabulary in Comanche yet was extremely embarrassed at uttering the vulgar English equivalents.

A new euphemistic descriptive word for *feces* or *urine*, na?ro?ipɪ̈ (na-, reflexive + to?i *come out*, + -pɪ̈, nominalizer), which can be translated as *waste matter*, has been substituted for the old word for *feces*, kwitapɪ̈, both in compounds such as the words for toilet-paper, toilet or chamber pot and also when it occurs alone. One of the older men laughed when asked about the word, but granted its position in the language. A milder word for *cheese*, kihtavicipɪ̈, *hard milk*, or the English loanword, ci'e, is usually heard in place of ko?avicipɪ̈ *groin*
[551] *milk*, or ko?akwana? *groin smell*. Similarly, the coarse or obscene meanings of many Comanche personal names are frequently disguised by slight alterations in form. A comparable effect has been noted in Muskogee: "Certain Muskogee words are avoided when white people are around because they contain syllables that might be mistaken for some of the English "four-letter" words".[112] To the writer's knowledge the same thing is not found in Comanche, probably because the phonetics of the language aren't quite as likely to give rise to such interpretations.

198 Finally, we may ask why no pidgin or creolized version of Spanish or English arose among the Comanche or, in fact, among other North American Indian tribes, since these marginal languages are so prevalent in other parts of the world.[113] The answer, albeit briefly and inadequately

[112] Mary R. Haas, personal communication.

(113) [113] See John E. Reinecke, Marginal Languages —A Sociological Study of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons. Ph.D. dissertation (Yale University, New Haven; 1937).

[p. 242-B]

lc: Smalley L-5 (1949) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

194
194
195

5. Some of the prosodic features described above occur occasionally in gradient degrees of difference. The range between non-phonemic pitches may vary without structural contrast under situations of extra stimulus.[12]

The total contour of an utterance or part of an utterance may be raised gradiently, especially in quotation situations, so that the quotation is optionally spoken on a higher pitch. This is true of text examples (2) and (7) but not of others which contain quoted materials. When the gradient raising occurs, the same relative contours, conditioned by stresses, vowel clusters and pause, are maintained, but all are gradiently higher.

Rhythm units may likewise be slowed or extended gradiently from normal speech to that of sleepy or tired situations. The non-structured variation lacks the intensity and precision of attentative rhythm types.

[12] Gradient differences of pitch in English or Comanche as opposed to the structured contrastive levels of English, are more directly associated with the physiological conditioning of which Bolinger speaks (see fn. 5). Physiological tension may vary the range between English phonemic pitch levels, as it may vary the range between the levels of languages with phonemic lexical tone, but so long as there is a point in any speech context beyond which the meaning changes, the levels are arbitrarily contrastive and not physiologically conditioned. Pike points out to me that the contrast between John, John, John, (with tone 4-3, 4-2, 4-1 respectively), may be maintained in normal voice, falsetto, or laryngealized speech ('low voice') and that the range may be small or great, but WITHIN ANY SPEECH STYLE THE CONTRAST IS PRESENT AND ARBITRARY, not 'instinctive' or 'physiologically' determined. The contrast is a conventionally structured one even though high pitch may be associated with emotional tension.

[p. 301-B]

17: Casagrande I L-5 (1940) 1965 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

195 868 The Comanche language[1] reveals an unusually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teaching the child to speak. Their use began 195 868 when the child was old enough to understand, at about one year according to inform- 856 ants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish 195 ways. Today English holds sway and these 178 baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowl- 124 edge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

128 [124] The following list was checked with eight informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

195 192 ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty; feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinʔ *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔanᵃ́·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[101] [122] [1] The material for this paper was gathered on a field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

192
195

?así·, ?a?aí· *rectum; feces, defecation; anything nasty.*

?eroró·?, ?eró·?, ?etó·? *white man* [táivo·? *white man*].

?ítî·?, ?ítítítî·? *it's hot!* (command to stay away); *fire, lamp, lightning, sun, flashlight, firewood; anything that will burn* [?îrî·?, ?îrîrîrî·?].

?i·kéta? *don't; let me alone.*

?î· exclamation of surprise (women or babies).

hî·, hî·kéta? as above; also used by adults; *don't* (scared).

?icî·?, ?icicicî·? *cover me, dress me, I'm cold; it's cold; command to stay away from something cold.* [?icî· used only as an exclamation].

?inî·? *insect; any small noxious animal, to babies when one wants child to be afraid of something or leave it alone; bug, snake, scorpion, ant, person;* exclamation of fright. [?înî·].

?ú?tU *give it to me!* [?ú·tU].

?umá? *good! nice! beautiful;* said by mother when she wants to comb child's hair, dress it; said to attract child's attention to clothes, toy; *anything bright or colorful that attracts the child: red, yellow, blue.*

?umó·?, mó·? *cattle, cow, bull* [onomatopoeia].

papá·? *I want a drink;* water [pá· *water*].

papó·?, popó·? *dog.*

pepé·? *ball* (it was said by one informant that this word was used only by girls as boys didn't play with balls) [na? sihpé·?].

pikî·? *pig* [English; pig, piggy].

tatá·? *something to eat, especially meat; I want, give me . . . ; eat!* [tî·kap *food, meat*].

tató·? *shoes, moccasins* [ta prefix meaning *foot:* tàhtokó·? *toe*].

tá?si *vagina* (tá?sip to baby when bouncing it on the knees. A personal name: *one who has a vagina*) [tá?I].

[p. 11-B]

192 **tutú·?** *automobile, train, anything that whistles* [onomatopoeia].

195 **kaká·?, kaká** *bird; head louse.*

kaní·? *house, tipi* [kánhI].

kokó·? *fruit, candy, cookies; any snack between meals;* give me. . . .

cikí·? *chicken* [English].

cicí·? *breast, bottle, milk, I want to be suckled!* [pícip *milk, breast*].

cí?ci?, píci? mother to child when she is going to nurse it.

mamá·? *horse;* said by child when it wants to be carried on someone's back.

mamá·? *mother* [English].

mukí·?, mu·kí·? *giant, owl, bogey* (to scare child) [related to **mú·pic**, the legendary *giant owl*].

mumú·? used to scare child; child's exclamation of fright; *the dark, thunder; cow.*

naná·? *it might hurt, get away; blood, sore, hurt;* said if baby doesn't feel well; if it is bitten or hurt by another child [see **?aná·**].

nInI·? *doll; baby; little ones of animals; little. . . .*

nInIcí·? *dear little doll, baby* [related to the pronominal prefix, **nI-**, *I, me*].

wa?ó·?, wa·?ó·? *cat* [adult: **wá?o·**].

?I?sI, nI?ísik *cover me!* [adult: **?IhíkI, nI?IhíkI**].

wí?asI *penis* [adult: **wí?A** (**wí?asi?** male personal name *one who has a penis*)].

The **sI** here, and also in the baby word for *vagina*, **tá?sI**, is probably derived from the diminutive suffix, **-cI**.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

601 195 **piá** *mother* (the regular adult word; there is no special baby word in common use).

pipiá said by some babies.

?apí·? *father, father's brother, father's hair (friend)* [**?ápI** address form; **?áhpI?** reference form].

?atá·? *mother's brother, husband of mother's friend* [**?árhA** address form; **?ára?** reference form].

pací·? *older sister* [**pácI** address form; **páci?** reference form].

601
195 namí·? *younger sister* [námI address form; **námi?** reference form].

taká·? *sibling* [tákA address form; **táka?** reference form].

tamí·? *younger brother* [támI address form; tami? reference form].

paví·? *older brother* [pávI address form; pávi? reference form].

pahá·? *father's sister* [páhA address form; páha? reference form].

kakú·? *grandmother* [*mother's mother* is the adult meaning; kákU address form; káku? reference form].

tokó·?, totó·? *grandfather*, sometimes *father* (this form used by a younger child) [*mother's father* is the adult meaning; tókO address form; tóko? reference form].

The following terms may also be used if the child is old enough to make the distinction: kĭnú·? *father's father* [kĭnU address form; kĭnu? reference form]; hucí·? *father's mother* [húcI address form; húci? reference form].

These kinship terms, other than those used for *father*, *mother*, and *grandparents*, probably appear relatively later in the child's vocabulary. Just how far they are extended to include those relatives normally subsumed under them in adult usage is not certain, but they may be taken to apply primarily to those persons designated above or their surrogates. It is interesting to note that the maternal grandparental terms are those first used for all grandparents. This suggests matrilocal residence, or at least more intimate contact with the mother's parents than with the father's.

[591]

195 In addition to the above list of formal baby words several characteristics of Comanche children's speech may be mentioned.

195 There is a tendency for children to add the
193 diminutive-endearing suffix, -cI and the related -sI to words; e.g., haic·? for haic *friend*. Reduplication,[1] as might be inferred

[113]

[1] Kroeber mentions this tendency to reduplicate in the speech of a Zuni child of 23 months whom he observed. A. L. Kroeber, The Speech of a Zuni Child, AA 18.529-34; the only published account of the speech development of a primitive child.

[p. 12-B]

from the above list, is another feature: tĭtĭ
is said by little girls for tĭ·i, *girl friend;* pipiá
for piá *mother*, etc. Although reduplication
is present in Comanche as a grammatical
process, it performs no ostensible grammati-
cal function in the child's speech. Various
phonemic substitutions are made; p for kw
as pĭhI for kwĭhĭ *wife;* pánA for kwánA *odor,*
smell; also i for ĭ as tiás for tĭas, etc. One
person carries the personal name, pitá·si? *one*
who always defecates, a "baby name", where a
p is substituted for the kw in kwítA *defecate!*,
and the suffix -sI is also added. These sub-
stitutions are not regular, but are commonly
made by children learning to speak. Some-
what more regular is the substitution of t for
r (see examples in the word list).

Several facts become apparent upon study
of the above list of baby words. First, it
must be recognized that these function not as
single, simple words, but as whole sentences
with many different, albeit related, possible
meanings (exclamatory, imperative, declara-
tive, interrogative) which are elucidated by
gestures, intonations, and the context of the
situation. They are really sentence-words.
Phonetically the baby words are simple:
there are no preaspirated consonants; the
sonant plus h does not appear; whispered
vowels and the defective phonemes, r and v,
are rare and their appearance is probably
late in the speech development of the child.
The x phoneme and the long m are unique
to the baby vocabulary.

Reduplication is evident and appears to be
especially common in those words generic to
the baby language and basic to it. The
baby word phonetic pattern of two syllables
with the second vowel accented, long, and
usually ending in a glottal stop occurs in
most of the examples. Words derived from
the adult vocabulary are put into this pat-
tern, as may be seen from the relationship
terms. Presumably it is in this phonetic
form that words are first presented to the
child. This seems consistent with our prac-
tice of carefully enunciating words when
teaching them to a child.

194 rounded voiceless vocoid to an unrounded voiceless vocoid but with the total slur appearing to take no more time than another voiceless continuant consonant such as /s/. Thus, the illustration given here could be written phonetically in some such way as ['noOIi-], but without the implication of an additional mora of length. In this position also, there are no contrasting vocoid sequences such as *aOa, *aIa, *aUa.

Other characteristics have been observed which differentiate between phonemic voiceless vowels and phonetic voiceless vocoids interpreted as /h/. Voiceless vowel phonemes occur in open syllables only, as seen in 'kupIta? *a light*, 'pukukĬni *a stable*, 'naʙUsa? *a chain*, whereas /h/ occurs contiguous to a voiced syllabic, opening or closing the syllable. In general, voiceless vowels maintain a full mora of length, though there often seem to be perceptible differences of length in reference to the different voiceless vowels occurring. Thus, /Ĭ/ of 'puhakĬni *a church* appears to be
194 shorter than /I/ of 'kupIta? *a light*. The mora value of /h/, on the other hand, may
195 vary considerably, not in accordance with its vocoidal timbre, but under various conditions of stress, deliberation, speed of speech, style, etc. Thus, /h/ in 'wihnu *then* ranges from a sharp vocoid [I] in slow deliberate utterance to mere breathiness of almost no mora value in more rapid speech.
194 Voiceless vowels never occur in syllables preceded by pause or in stressed syllables. /h/ may occur in either, e.g. 'huuhpI *tree*.

194 4. Riggs[4] has stated a preference for her
114 Analysis B in which consonant clusters
121 resulting from post-syllabic h plus consonant are treated as unit phonemes, choosing to eliminate hc clusters at the price of nine new phonemes (or eleven phonemes, since hʙ and hy, not listed in her paper, also exist). To be consistent, one would also have to postulate a series of pre-glottalized con-

[4] Riggs, op. cit.

194 sonants for ʔs, ʔm, ʔy, etc., which would
114 reduce the number of consonant clusters to
121 zero but would produce thirteen more new phonemes. All possible combinations of ʔ followed by a consonant occur except ʔʔ.

It is not economical to introduce twenty-three new phonemes into a system in order to eliminate two well-balanced types of consonant clusters, e.g. ʔc and hc. In both clusters, the first element is a glottal consonant, namely a stop and a fricative.

[195] Such an analysis, furthermore, disregards the perceptible division between syllables which occurs even in rapid speech, and, in exaggerated slowdown, informants show no tendency to treat hc as a close-knit unit but, rather, introduce a sharp break between the h and the consonant following. It is by no means impossible to assume that a single phoneme can be ambi-syllabic. Numerous such instances may be found but, as between alternate analyses, that one is to be preferred which interprets phonemes as mono-syllabic, other things being equal.

The interpretation of hc as a single phoneme results in needless grammatical complication. For example, the utterance translated *just nothing* may occur with alternate nonsignificant word order, e.g. 'nah'kehenA or 'kehena'nah. Under Rigg's Analysis B, in which hk constitutes a single phoneme, the allomorph of the morpheme meaning *just* is 'nah (three segmental phonemes) in the second citation but in the first instance, the alternate is 'na plus a feature (pre-aspiration) of the following phoneme. If, on the other hand, the alternant is assumed to be 'na (without pre-aspiration) in the first example, then 'kehena *nothing* of the second utterance has an alternant ʰ'kehenA in the first. The total distribution of 'na and ʰ'kehenA is the strict limitation of their occurrence contiguous to each other. Considering hc as a consonant cluster, however, would eliminate all such allomorphic problems and greatly simplify the analysis of the grammatical structure.

[p.67-B]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

eggs, but it always feel like I'm choking in here and I just quit eating them. And now I can't get the taste out of my mouth. I'll have it all day long. I just can't eat them.

Sanapia's maternal uncle gave her but one "rule." She was forbidden to eat the visceral organs of animals. This was a bitter pill for Sanapia because of her love for liver and an Indian delicacy made from stuffed intestines. She has managed to circumvent this tabu by reinterpreting it. Sanapia feels that if she changes these forbidden meats into something else, disguises them, she can eat them with no fear or guilt.

A *puhakut* cannot doctor himself in the manner which was described regarding the removal of the eagle egg. This is unfortunate for Sanapia, for as she grows older, the tabus which she must observe become increasingly cumbersome; and since she is the only living eagle doctor, she has no way in which to relieve herself of these restrictions. This is also a reason for her disinclination to associate with the less traditionally based members of the Comanche tribe. The more conservative and traditional Comanches recognizing the special limitations which are placed on Sanapia's behavior and, honoring them, make her life a little less complicated. With the less traditionally oriented, Sanapia cannot be sure that they understand the meaning of her tabus, and thus she must be constantly on guard around them lest they pass behind her while she is eating, for example, and unknowingly, or perhaps knowingly, cause her to break one of the many restrictions placed on her with regards to food and behavior. Sanapia states that ignorance is no excuse when a "rule" is broken. Her tabus are mechanical.

The unique feature in the third power transmission was Sanapia's acquisition of her Medicine song. The Medicine song is Sanapia's most direct means of communication to the supernatural realms which are the ultimate sources of her power. The song belonged to both the mother and the uncle. Sanapia considers her Medicine song extremely potent and utilizes it only under the most critical and pressing of doctoring situations. It is not a common element in her doctoring activities but is only employed when she feels that all her other tactics are failing. The song is her ultimate doctoring tool in that it is as close as she comes to actually commanding her power sources to heed her wishes.

The immediate result of her Medicine song is the summoning of the spirits of her mother and uncle. She then asks them for support in her attempts to reach more deeply into the supernaturalistic realms for more power and control over the situation which is challenging her.

When my mother gave me that song she told me, "When you come by yourself like that, when you don't have no place to go for help, when you got no one to lean on for help, sing this song. What you want, you going to get. I'll be listening to you. When you sing this song, I'm going to hear you singing and I'm going to help you."

Two tabus concerned with behavior were associated with the power increase of this third stage. Sanapia was forbidden to ever directly make a request of another. Her powers would, according to her mother, allow her to obtain anything

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an individual for some object or assistance.

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans. The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kardiner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia, through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevitable struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is transmitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 Comanches still incur ghost sickness and under conditions which they could have
154 voluntarily avoided, conditions in which their culture assures them the ghost will be found. This strongly suggests the possibility that a Comanche may at some period in his life develop the need or desire to contract ghost sickness.

Preliminaries to the Treatment of Ghost Sickness

775 When an individual has contracted ghost sickness and has decided to seek
756 Sanapia's aid in alleviating his distress, he first commissions an intermediary to arrange the initial interview between Sanapia and himself. This step can also be taken by the spouse of a patient. Since Sanapia is an older woman, the liaison should also be an older woman. The preferred intermediary would be a woman who had grown up with Sanapia, for they would be acquainted, would be of the
[465] same age and sex, and generally would have the same background. The potential patient pays the older woman to "speak for him." The payment is usually made in money.

The older woman approaches Sanapia with the afflicted person's request for treatment. This meeting is very informal and does not appear to be bound with any ritual behavior. The liaison discovers if Sanapia is accessible, when she would consent to meet with the patient, what kind of payment she would require, and if there are any specific kinds of behavior which Sanapia would require of the patient. It does not follow that a woman who has known Sanapia for a number of years would be able to know the answers to these questions simply from previous experience with Sanapia. Sanapia's accessibility depends on her schedule or proposed activities, as does the time when she would meet with the patient.
[465] Although the payment of a doctor is standardized to a degree, Sanapia will perhaps broadly suggest to the liaison that there is something which she needs and which would be readily acceptable as payment. Her opinion of the required deportment of the patient may change as her moods change, or perhaps as a result of a "real dream."

The importance of the liaison is stressed by informants who have been Sanapia's patients. Sanapia does not consider the liaison necessary, though she admits that she likes to know something about the person before he approaches her as a patient. The impression received from interviews with most informants who have been Sanapia's patients was that they really did not know exactly what was demanded of them when they desired to contract the services of a Medicine woman. The liaison also functions as the advisor on the deportment demanded of the patient by a Medicine woman.

775 When the first interview has been arranged and the patient is preparing
756 to visit Sanapia, he makes a point to dress humbly. No jewelry is worn. His clothing
371 should, by its poorness, add to the pitiable and humble image he wishes to present
376 to Sanapia. He also must follow this theme in his conversation with Sanapia. The
775 patient must act the part of the pitiable supplicant who is throwing himself on
756 Sanapia's mercy and good graces. This is the standard posture utilized in prayers,
574
[775]
[554]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

756
465
276

Ritual payment: four corn shucks, Bull Durham tobacco, and green cloth.

and in situations in which one individual must make a major request of another. By demeaning yourself to another, you are, in effect, pressuring him to acquiesce to your wishes; for by the Comanche code of generosity if he refused a request presented in such a fashion, he would indeed be a despicable person. A doctor who refused such an approach would be judged even more harshly by his community and his Medicine, for he has made an oath to uphold this code. This type of behavior on the part of the prospective patient acts as a normative pressure in the patient's attempt to contract Sanapia's services.

The formal contract occurs when the patient initiates the ritual involved with his request for Sanapia's aid. The short period of time which passes between the patient's appearance before Sanapia and the beginning of his ritual approach is described by Sanapia as follows:

> He might come here to my house, maybe somewhere else where I'm staying. "Do you know why I'm here?" I tell him, "Yeah. I guess I know why you come to see me." He be looking down at the floor and talking in a pitiful way. I just be sitting there and don't say nothing at first. I know why he's there and I just sit down and wait for him to say what he's got to say . . . just be sitting there quiet. I be watching him all the time.

The patient then produces the demanded items of payment which he has been instructed to bring by his liaison–advisor. This approach ritual payment consists of a piece of dark green cloth, a commercially obtained ⅛-ounce bag of Bull Durham tobacco, and four corn shuck cigarette "papers." The patient rolls a cigarette, takes four puffs, and hands the cigarette to Sanapia. When she takes it, the contract is made. Wallace and Hoebel state: "It is true that the Comanches